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ABSTRACT

Today, although over 700 Women's Studies (WS) programs in the United States diversify the curriculum and cross disciplinary boundaries, WS units at many research universities have failed to become centers for the production of interdisciplinary feminist knowledge. This study posed the following question: How do institutional, collegial, and individual values influence WS faculty decisions about whether and how to pursue feminist interdisciplinary teaching, research, and service when they are located in a disciplinary department and associated voluntarily with a WS program? The faculty sample included 20 women in 9 disciplines at 4 comprehensive universities in a state system with established WS programs who had either taught WS cross-listed courses or intended to in the future. Data consisted of long, semi-structured interviews and analysis of each faculty member's latest curriculum vitae. A key theme emerged: the variation in degree of commitment to social activism. Participants emerged as either interdisciplinary scholars (IDS) or disciplinary scholars (DS). Each group had distinctive approaches to their scholarly lives and approached their feminist work with differing intensities. Both groups were able to commission feminist knowledge through the courses they taught, the research they chose, and the dissemination outlets they selected. Both IDS and DS reported a low level of intellectual community in their disciplinary departments. Many IDS, however, found both intellectual community and friendship networks within the WS program or with feminist colleagues outside their departments. Many DS qualified their relationship to WS--that qualification was coupled with less involvement with WS in general. The four university sites in this study were assigned program, rather than departmental status, which placed these feminist projects at the margins of their institutions. Contains 38 references. Appended are the original conceptual framework, IDS and DS conceptual frameworks, and 2 tables. (BT)

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WOMEN'S STUDIES FACULTY: CLAIMING FEMINIST SCHOLARSHIP IN A STATE UNIVERSITY SYSTEM

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Three hundred Women's Studies (WS) programs opened during the 1970's despite shrinking funds for higher education. Such development demonstrates how strong an influence the women's movement had on the academy (Stark & Lattuca, 1997). By the mid-eighties, WS had, along with general education and honors, showed the greatest growth among interdisciplinary studies areas (Newell as cited in Klein & Newell, 1997). Today, over 700 WS programs in the United States diversify the curriculum, cross disciplinary boundaries, and engage faculty and students in integrative thinking (Garcia & Ratcliff, 1997; National Women's Studies Association, 1995). Goodstein (1997) asserts that despite this development, WS units at many research universities have failed to become centers for the production of interdisciplinary feminist knowledge. Preliminary research findings show that feminist scholars orient themselves to disciplinary departments and colleagues there who determine the value of their work unless they are situated in WS departments (Goodstein and Burghardt, 1999). Messer-Davidow (1991) concludes that WS position in the academy creates a paradox for WS faculty: assigned to disciplines, yet situated in opposition to them; producing academic knowledge while critiquing the organization of that knowledge; commissioning and constraining feminist inquiry; acting as changers while becoming transformed themselves.

This study explored how these scholars observations applied to WS units in comprehensive institutions functioning in accordance with a Collective Bargaining

Agreement (CBA). The research question posed: How do institutional, collegial, and individual values influence WS faculty decisions about whether and how to pursue feminist interdisciplinary teaching, research, and service when they are located in a disciplinary department and associated voluntarily with a WS program? Literatures about department vs. program status for WS, comprehensive vs. research universities as sites for studying WS, and generations of WS scholars informed this study. For example, most interdisciplinary initiatives have been assigned to marginal positions as programs rather than as departments (Klein, 1996). Departments have intellectual and administrative authority for the curriculum and for hiring, evaluating, and promoting faculty. Most programs have no full-time tenure lines, and curricular decisions rely on the cooperation of disciplinary departments who must approve cross-listed courses. Since programs are likely to have fewer resources and less power than departments, their status constrains WS faculty scholarship choices (Scully, 1996).

Most prior studies about WS location in higher education institutions have been primarily concerned with feminist knowledge production, and therefore were situated in research universities. For WS faculty in comprehensive colleges and universities, however, values about teaching, research and service scholarships are shaped in a context where undergraduate teaching is given priority. Currently, there are 531 comprehensive institutions that educate one-quarter of the U.S. student population and employ one-quarter of the nation's professoriate; yet they are rarely sites for higher education research (Carnegie, 1994; Snyder, Hoffman, & Gettes, 1997).

Furthermore, previous studies about WS faculty have focused on the generations of scholars who founded the movement in the 1960s and 1970s, or those who followed in

their footsteps in the late 1970s and 1980s (Astin & Leland, 1991; Gumport, 1987). In contrast, this study focused on the most recent generation of WS faculty, those who have entered the academy since 1990. Their choices about feminist scholarships are significant because their decisions will determine the future of WS as a center for feminist scholarships at their institutions and contribute to WS growth as an interdisciplinary field.

Theoretical Foundations for the Conceptual Framework

Theories about values, social behavior in organizations, traditional and feminist perspectives on power, and feminist critiques of department versus program administrative structures, provided the theoretical foundation for this research. Values form the cornerstone because they denote enduring beliefs that make a specific action by an individual personally and socially preferable to alternative actions (Rokeach, 1968). Rokeach (1968) contends values held by individuals and groups have the power to influence and to thus energize or constrain others' actions.

This power to influence action depends "on one person's ability and willingness to sanction another person by manipulating rewards and punishments important to the other person" (Pfeffer, 1981, p. 304). Those who have the greatest power then are likely to reap the most benefits when a unit or organization stands to gain or lose rewards or resources. Gender may also be used as a means of power and control when gender-biased administrative processes are defended by those in power as "neutral" or "objective" (Acker, 1992). Gendered informal organizational structures transmit rules about the value of one form of work over another.

Regularities in behavior within organizations emerge from the social conditioning that results from formal and informal organizational relationships (Blau & Scott, 1962). Formal

structures involve relationships between social positions that are explicitly defined independently of the personal characteristics of the persons holding the positions. Informal social structures emerge from interactions of particular individuals (Scott, 1998). Formal and informal structures transmit systems of shared values, beliefs, norms, and roles to organizational participants.

How the relationship among these theories forms the conceptual framework for this study is depicted in Appendix A. It posits that WS faculty members' decisions about whether to pursue feminist interdisciplinary or disciplinary scholarships of teaching, research, and service are shaped by the individuals' disciplinary and WS backgrounds, personal values, and perceptions of informal and formal organizational values. These values and perceptions are mediated by their dual roles as members of disciplinary departments and teachers in WS programs, and the gendered nature of their institutions.

Major Concepts of the Conceptual Framework

Formal Organizational Values: The formal aspect of an organization establishes procedures for motivating its members toward a common goal. Authoritative power and control is consciously exercised through these procedures to communicate institutional values (Blau & Scott, 1962). Tenure, promotion, and resource allocation become guides for faculty behavior since their perceptions of professional advancement and monetary reward criteria send them strong messages about institutional values.

Informal Organizational Values: Informal networks of human relations are where the "real goals" are achieved in organizations (Scott, 1998). Colleagues evaluate scholarly achievements, recommend for tenure and promotion, and support professional development. Within these intellectual communities peer values influence individual values. Friendship

networks of colleagues provide an esprit' de corps' that emerges among people who are attracted to and respect each other. The values inculcated in these circles are significant then to the process of choosing scholarly pursuits (Rokeach, 1968).

Individual Values: Faculty bring their own world view to bear on the behavior preferences presented to them through both formal and informal organizational channels. They must, however, function within a range of allegiances, some of which may not be consistent with the organization's values (Pfeffer, 1981). When conflicts arise between their own, institutional, or peers' values, faculty must make critical decisions. Through their conformity or resistance the organization is reproduced or changed (Scott, 1998).

Scholarly identity can provide insight into individual values. Socialization in disciplinary-based graduate programs promotes faculty commitments to particular disciplines that in turn affect research decisions (Gumport, 1991; Goodstein, 1997; Klein, 1996). Faculty members, by virtue of their discipline, share a common body of knowledge, attitudes, values, and assumptions with department colleagues (Civian, Arnold, Gamson, Kanter, & London, 1997). Gumport's (1991) framework of feminist scholarly commitment for faculty with an appointment in a disciplinary department and connected with WS, suggest some faculty feel primary loyalty to WS. Others hold mixed loyalties, pulled between the demands of both their home department and the mission of WS. Scholar-activists' first loyalties are to WS and to the larger women's movement.

The degree of commitment to feminism is another source of individual values. Because feminist belief systems are politically charged, they carry the potential for altering the status quo. Scholars committed to feminist practices are held accountable by the women's

movement to promote democratic values, link theory and practice, and respond to oppressive actions in any form.

Administrative Structures: In most colleges and universities, WS is a program administered by a director rather than department chair. Most faculty members that teach WS courses are on permanent appointments in a disciplinary department. Departments are central to the institutional resource allocation process. Curricular decisions are made primarily by departments with WS likely to be their secondary concern. WS typically has no formal role in tenure and promotion decisions. In a sense, WS faculty have two "homes" in two administrative structures, although they may perceive their disciplinary department as having more organizational power than the WS program.

Feminist Scholarships: Boyer (1990) recast faculty work as the scholarships of discovery, integration, application, and teaching. The scholarship of discovery entails the advancement of knowledge, the research activities that stimulate intellectual life, pursue uncharted courses, and strive to understand human experience. Integrated scholarship is makes connections, draws from many disciplines, and interprets the meaning of discovered knowledge. It is interdisciplinary work and thus it challenges the traditional boundaries of knowledge, responds to new questions, and reconceptualizes how thinking takes place.

Teaching within the Boyer (1990) framework is emphasized as a scholarly activity. Faculty members transmit knowledge to others in ways that "transform" and "extend" that knowledge. Students engage in learning to develop critical thinking abilities and a curiosity that lasts long term and faculty examine how such development is achieved. Pedagogy acknowledges the teacher as learner and the student as teacher. The scholarship of application deals directly with complex social problems and moves knowledge beyond

classrooms and institutions and into people's lives. Theory and practice interact, each informing the other in a dynamic process.

Boyer's (1990) categories of scholarships map well to the ideals of feminist scholarship (NWSA, 1999). For example, discovery embraces the knowledge explosion surrounding women's experiences and contributions so long omitted, minimized, or ignored in traditional academic canons. Integration represents the interdisciplinary approaches that feminist scholars utilize to theorize the forces of oppression that stretch beyond the limits of any one discipline. Moreover, WS interdepartmental programs are grounded in the notion of an intellectual community of scholars from multiple disciplines. Application integrates the activist values of the women's movement with its academic force, WS, by expecting scholars to act as societal change agents.

Finally, feminist teaching scholarship disseminates feminist knowledge in WS courses and transforms disciplinary ones. Issues of power and authority, and differences based on gender, race, and class in educational processes and knowledge production are acknowledged. Ideas are nurtured in the feminist classroom, experience validated, and collaboration, connection, cooperation, and caring valued (Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, & Tarule, 1986; Maher & Tetreault, 1994; Shrewsbury, 1987; Weiler, 1988).

Gendered Institutions: Nationally women make up only 32.5 percent of college and university faculty, while 67.5% of the university professoriate are men (Sandler, Silverberg, & Hall, 1996). The average salary for men at the professor level is $65,949, however, women earn $58,318 at the same rank. Furthermore, 72% of full-time tenured faculty men are tenured as compared to 51% of full-time women (Snyder, et al., 1997). This under

representation of women and the gender wage gap result from inequitable power distributions and the evaluation of women by masculine standards (Acker, 1992).

If WS faculty department colleagues prioritize disciplinary scholarships, the resources for WS professional development opportunities may be scant. WS scholars' opportunities to build collegial communities with other feminist interdisciplinary thinkers are limited (Scully & Currier, 1997). Furthermore, publishing in feminist journals, presenting at feminist conferences, or using feminist pedagogy may be considered irrelevant by colleagues, who only value work within established disciplinary practices. If, however, colleagues are supportive of feminist scholarship, value women as colleagues, and support gender integrated curricula, WS scholars may feel free to pursue work that challenges prevailing ideologies without fear of reprisal.

Methods and Data Sources

The institutional sample included four comprehensive universities in a state system with well-established WS programs. WS directors identified potential participants who had all been hired during the 1990s and were tenured or tenure-track faculty. The faculty sample included 20 women in nine disciplines who had either taught WS cross-listed courses or intended to teach such a course in the near future.

Two types of data were collected and analyzed for this study. Hour long semi-structured interviews elicited information about each faculty member's educational background, personal values, and scholarly identity. Questions inquired about how interactions with intellectual and friendship communities shaped personal values, and how administrative structure, reward systems, and resource allocations transmitted institutional values about appropriate teaching, research, and service scholarships. Questions also

explored how these women experienced working in a disciplinary department while also teaching for a WS program. sessions were proceeded by reviewing with each scholar a brief description of the study and acquiring each scholar's agreement to participate on a consent form. Interviews were audio-taped and later transcribed for analysis with the assistance of the NUD*IST4 program (1997). Responses were first categorized by question. Those transcripts were then analyzed for themes.

In addition, each faculty members' latest curriculum vitae was analyzed to determine the extent of her feminist work by counting course preparations, publications, presentations, professional memberships, and service contributions that were related to women or gender and compared to those that were not related to women or gender. The study was limited due to the diversity of the vitae documents received in addition to the reliance on self-report and researcher bias.

A matrix was also constructed to determine what groups of individuals had the most in common with each other. Across the top of the matrix the 20 participants were listed and down the side were 11 categories from the conceptual framework, along with the participants' time in the system and their discipline. The cells were filled in with the summaries of participants' comments about each conceptual area. This process enabled a comparison of the entire experience of each participant with the experiences of all the other participants.

From these comparisons, a key theme emerged as a defining characteristic: the variation in degree of commitment to social activism. Some participants discussed social activism as a key aspect of their scholarly lives repeatedly. In contrast, other participants spoke about valuing social change, but prioritized other aspects of work as more important.

For this second group of women, activism seemed just one part of a larger scholarly and personal agenda. Two of them even admitted skepticism about their work's potential for making any societal difference.

When the women were grouped according to an activism continuum, two other characteristics emerged that distinguished some scholars from others. First, eight of the nine women who expressed a higher commitment to activism had high involvement with their WS program. Second, eight of the nine identified themselves as interdisciplinary scholars by training or as a result of their professional development choices. The other 11 women identified themselves primarily as scholars of a single discipline and contributed to WS after they met other priorities.

Thus participants emerged as either Interdisciplinary scholars (IDS) or Disciplinary Scholars (DS) based on descriptions of their scholarly identities, intensity of their commitments to activism, and level of their involvement with their WS programs. Then both groups were traced through the conceptual framework comparing them according to the major concepts in order to determine their similarities and differences. The outcomes of this process are depicted in Appendices B and C depict how the comparison distinguished IDS from DS in their decisions to produce feminist work. Finally, thematic responses by scholars in each group were counted and the resulting percentages compared across groups.

Comparison of IDS and DS

The process of comparing the IDS and DS groups was NOT intended to rank one group over another or to infer that one group of scholars are more critical to WS than the other. Their differing characteristics provided insights into how personal values, as well as, informal and formal organizational values, influenced scholarly decision-making. All of

their perspectives increased my understanding about how feminist work was chosen, performed, and evaluated in their environments. Both IDS and DS are vital to the WS project and although their associations and contributions vary, all these women are valued members of the WS community. Comparison of those similarities most closely aligned and those differences most distinctive between the two groups' backgrounds, individual values, formal and informal organizational values, and administrative structure are summarized in Table 1. A summary of those feminist scholarships is shown in Table 2. The following narrative reports additional areas of comparison.

1. Background

Eight-nine percent (8) of the IDS earned their doctorates in a humanities field as compared to 54% (6) of DS. With one exception, all participants had some form of WS background before entering their institution. In every category but one, IDS previous WS experiences exceeded those of DS. Twice as many IDS (5, 56%) had taken WS coursework as compared to DS (3, 27%). Slightly more than twice as many IDS (4, 44%) as DS (2, 18%) claimed a woman/gender field specialty. Two woman pursued WS scholarly interests despite warnings from advisors as to the soundness of this decision. Another woman transferred from a traditional disciplinary program to one that offered interdisciplinary perspectives that matched her way of thinking. Those two categorized as IDS wanted to pursue IDS feminist scholarship, while the DS wanted to pursue a woman-focused specialty within her discipline.

Nearly three times as many DS (7, 64%) had taught WS courses as compared to IDS (2, 22%). Four (57%) of the DS who taught did so without any association with a WS Program. Two IDS, described their WS teaching experience as having been an "intellectual awakening" which transformed their pedagogy and epistemology. Of the seven DS who

taught WS, only one spoke of this work as resulting in a "spiritual" connection to feminist scholarship.

2. Influence of Individual Values

2a. Scholarly Identity

More than half (6, 67%) of IDS identified themselves as feminist interdisciplinary scholars, a category not used by any of the DS. Two IDS reflected their commitment to institutional and societal change in the way they named themselves: "Activist," and "Champion of the Underdog and Understudied." Ten (91%) DS combined their traditional disciplinary title with the term "feminist," and/or explained how their disciplinary work was focused on women and/or informed by a gender analysis. One DS chose the scholarly description, both feminist disciplinary and disciplinary with woman/gender focus, to challenge stereotypes held by colleagues in her field.

Five (45%) IDS specified some relationship to WS as a field or program as a part of who they were as scholars. DS also stated connections to WS, but were more likely to qualify why they were NOT, in a sense, core to WS as a field or program. Seven (64%) DS as compared to two (22%) IDS suggested funding sources, lack of knowledge about women, research methodology, institutional mission, WS program culture, academic job market, or work that went "in and out of women" as reasons for not claiming themselves, or only situationally claiming themselves, as WS identified scholars.

The experiences related by eight (89%) IDS illuminated the complexity of naming a self involved in transgressing disciplinary boundaries, transforming classical ways of knowing, making power paradigms visible, and integrating multiple dimensions of their

scholarships. On the other hand, ten (91%) DS defined themselves in relation to their disciplines with four (36%) adding a feminist prefix or acknowledging their use of feminist perspectives. By comparison all IDS attached feminism to their scholarly identity definitions.

2b. Agency and Personal Values

Most of the of the participants (17, 85%) stated a commitment to values associated with social justice and equality with ten (50%) mentioning specifically the empowerment of women as their concern. The most significant difference between IDS and DS was the intensity with which they described the relationship between their personal values and their scholarly work. Seven of the nine IDS (78%) described their work explicitly as an integrated aspect of their lives which they approached with a "100% connection." For IDS, their work was an extension of who they were as human beings. They did not separate who they were from the work they did at their universities.

In contrast, only two (18%) DS shared similar viewpoints. One woman stated she lived her values as a fact with no elaboration, while another saw herself engaged in "trying" to live out her values. The other DS asserted it was difficult to bring "feminist ethics into a workplace that employed mostly men." DS talked about their feminist values as "strongly" affecting their teaching, emphasized in their teaching, and "fundamental" to their work, but they did not tell me, "this is my life."

3. Influence of Informal Organizational Values

3a. Intellectual Community

Less than half of IDS (3, 33%) and DS (5, 45%) found intellectual community within their department. Although more DS found intellectual community with departmental

colleagues than IDS, IDS were three times as likely (7, 78%) to associate with their WS Program or a WS colleague to talk about work-related ideas as were DS (2, 18%). Additionally more IDS (5, 56%) than DS (1, 9%) named colleagues across campus, outside their departments and WS, as sources of intellectual stimulation and response to their work.

In the absence of local intellectual community, three scholars in each group developed intellectual forums to promote a local intellectual community. Two of the three forums initiated by IDS were feminist campus-wide endeavors compared to one of three for DS.

3b. Friendship Networks

In both cases, IDS and DS reported that WS colleagues, more so than departmental or campus colleagues, were most likely to support their work and politics and therefore be considered members of their professional friendship network. The difference, however, was stronger for IDS (7, 78% compared to 2, 22%) than DS (5, 45% compared to 4, 36%). In terms of the influence of peer friendships on the work they did, three (33%) IDS saw themselves as a source of influence for others, a theme not mentioned by any DS. Two IDS also talked about the need for reality checks and the need for feminist friends to help them gage any co-optation that might be taking place within themselves.

4. Influence of Formal Organizational Values

4a. Tenure-Track Assistant Professors on Tenure and Promotion

There are four IDS as compared to eight DS in tenure-track positions at the rank of Assistant Professor. As they anticipated their tenure applications, half of both groups perceived tenure as easier to attain than promotion or was about personal fit. Five (63%) DS as compared to half (2, 50%) of the IDS had no evidence that WS related work was devalued in the tenure and promotion processes. Most untenured DS (7, 88%) and IDS (3, 75%)

admitted that their desire for tenure affected some of the scholarly choices they made. More than half of the DS (5, 63%) felt pressured to put their department's expectations and needs first. IDS (3, 75%), on the other hand, expressed feeling almost twice as much pressure to conform from student evaluations, which were heavily weighted in tenure decisions, than did DS (3, 38%). As they looked ahead to promotion, more DS (5, 63%) saw the process as unpredictable and unclear than did IDS (1, 25%). IDS (3, 75%) focused on their perceptions of increasing promotion standards. Two (25%) DS agreed with their observation.

4b. Tenured Associated Professors on Tenure and Promotion

There are five IDS as compared to three DS that are tenured and hold the Associate Professor rank meaning they have been successfully promoted at least once. All the scholars in both groups contended that tenure was easier to attain than promotion. Four (80%) IDS believed that the tenure and promotion processes were not biased against WS work as compared to two-thirds of the DS (2, 67%).

Many of the IDS (3, 60%) and DS (2, 67%) admitted conforming in some way in their preparation for tenure and promotion. Unlike some of the untenured scholars, they no longer spoke about pleasing their departments and only one IDS mentioned a concern about the interpretation of negative comments on student evaluations. Since all the scholars in both groups had earned a promotion, only one DS spoke to unpredictability associated with instability of the university-wide promotion committee. One scholar in each group suggested the promotion standards were increasing.

4c. Resource Allocation

Both IDS and DS reported that resources, both material and human were limited on their campuses. However, more (6, 67%) IDS than DS (4,36%) could identify some funding

sources available at their institution or the state to support WS research and professional development. An additional five (45%) DS believed there were no funds, other than personal resources for learning about and sharing feminist work. Only one IDS agreed with this perception. These DS's professional development choices then were likely to prioritize attendance at their national disciplinary organizations, while three IDS talked about their willingness to use their own resources or write grants in order to do feminist work.

For example, one-third of IDS had recently presented at or belonged to the National Women's Studies Association (NWSA) with one woman anticipating attendance next year. In contrast, none of the DS did either of these activities at the time of this study. One DS had been active in NWSA in the past, but now, on her path to tenure, she was focusing on national disciplinary organizations. DS, in two cases, had not even heard of NWSA while others, limited by funding, prioritized disciplinary organizations for their work on women and gender.

Slightly more than six time as many IDS (6, 67%) as DS (1, 9%) presented their work at their annual system-wide Women's Conference. Another IDS intended to attend next year. However, even when the IDS scholars presented at a higher rate than DS, both IDS (22%) and DS (18%) joined the organization at low rates. Both groups' choices in this category were in concert with their scholarly identities. However, IDS choice led to the potential for intellectual community and friendship networks with WS faculty at sister universities and at the national level.

5. WS Administrative Structure

5a. Relationship Between WS and Disciplinary Departments

More IDS (7, 78%) initially became involved with the WS Program on their campus during their interview process, were referred by a WS colleague, or initiated a contact independently as compared to slightly over half of the DS (6, 54%). In contrast, the remaining DS (5, 45%) and IDS (2, 22%) established a relationship with WS by teaching a cross-listed disciplinary course. All IDS and most DS (9, 82%) taught disciplinary courses that are cross-listed with WS. All scholars made some service contributions to WS as well. Most IDS, talked about their relationship with WS in positive terms. One woman "couldn't imagine not being a part of WS" and another called it her "refuge." On the other hand, although most DS appeared genuine about wanting to be more involved with WS, five (45%) of them (all untenured) asserted they did not have the time.

5b. WS Administrative Structure Advantages and Disadvantages

Twice as many IDS as DS raised the debate of department versus program status for WS. Almost half of the IDS (4, 44%) favored the current structure of their WS program as compared to one woman who advocated change to department structure, even though her university had denied the request. Most women enjoyed the interdisciplinary open-ended arrangement and feared WS work would be relegated to WS departmental faculty. More DS (3, 27%) than IDS (1, 11%) specified their preference for department status over program status because they associated greater resources would accompany the shift. Limited resources for WS was noted by the majority of both IDS and DS which was followed by the assumption that there was not enough administrative support for WS. Six (67%) IDS as compared to five (45%) DS described tensions between their departments and WS over teaching assignments, release time for WS directors and WS curriculum stability. As two

IDS had WS administrative experience, they were particularly clear about their dependence on the cooperation of disciplinary departments for curricular offerings and faculty.

6. Feminist Scholarships

A comparison of each groups' feminist scholarships is shown in Table 2.

6a. Feminist Pedagogy

All nine IDS scholars taught disciplinary course cross-listed with WS as did most of the DS (9, 82%). Those DS who had not taught a WS course expected to teach one as soon as their department agreed to the assignment. A third (3, 33%) of IDS as compared to only one DS also taught interdisciplinary WS courses. Four (36%) DS had designed a WS course and slightly more than twice as many IDS (7, 78%) had done the same. Two (22%) IDS and four (36%) DS were discontented with their teaching assignments. One IDS and three of the four DS wanted to do more WS teaching. One woman felt her woman-centered specialty was being "wasted". Another woman felt so devalued by her institution for teaching about power that she wondered how long she would stay.

Both IDS (7, 78%) and DS (7, 63%) labeled their pedagogy feminist, although they emphasized different facets and used slightly different terminology. IDS used terms such as student-centered, faculty de-centered, participatory, democratic and collaborative, more frequently while DS used the labels cooperative learning and active learning along with discovery, interactive, and holistic the most.

More IDS (5, 56%) than DS (3, 27%) discussed ways they negotiated the power dynamics between professors and students. A theme that emerged among the IDS that was not addressed by DS was the importance of establishing an intellectual community within

their classrooms. Three (33%) IDS as compared to one (9%) of DS thought it was important to educate their students about the feminist pedagogy they were using.

6b. Course Objectives

All the scholars in both groups had transformed their disciplinary courses to some degree by incorporating work by women or applying feminist interpretations to the material. More DS (5, 45%) mentioned they had experienced student resistance as a result than did IDS (1, 11%). Students complained there was too much emphasis on women or acted annoyed when a topic related to women or gender was presented.

Both IDS and DS said the content of a WS course was the more overtly transformative, more focused on women and gender, and definitely contained some activism connection or component. Three (27%) DS, however, saw their WS courses as more interdisciplinary than their disciplinary courses, something IDS did not discuss. Some IDS reported making power dynamics and their own life experiences and biases explicit in the learning process. DS did not raise these points.

7. Feminist Research Scholarship

More IDS published in and presented at women/gender focused outlets and conferences than did DS. Additionally more IDS chose to title their articles and conference presentations with titles that specified the content would address issues related to women/gender than did DS.

All IDS described their research as interdisciplinary in some way as compared to eight (72%) of the DS. Scholars, regardless of group, however, drew on multiple disciplines to inform their work. They were asking new questions, bringing new knowledge and new interpretations of accepted knowledge into academic discourses. When asked about their

views of the tension between theory and practice, often debated by WS scholars, most of the women in both groups explained how they consciously worked to make their work accessible. They described success in varying degrees. One IDS defended the need for women theorists who did not have to be accountable for the translation of their work.

8. Feminist Service Scholarship

All IDS and ten of the eleven (91%) of DS performed service activities related to their WS Programs. Seven (63%) DS, however said they would do more if they had more time. Three DS (27%) described projects that were important to them because they promoted social change. In comparison, (6, 67%) IDS focused their responses on mentoring and activism projects. Two (22%) IDS raised another concern when reflecting on their vitae. They were torn between their commitments to academia and activism. They were struggling with the question, "Am I doing enough activism?" Fifteen participants named 29 women/gender focused service activities during interviewing that were not recorded on their vitas.

9. Gendered Institutional Environment

Throughout the preceding comparison of IDS and DS those issues that contributed to a gendered institutional environment were noted (Acker, 1992/96; Calas & Smircich, 1996; Martin, 1994). Gendered attitudes and behaviors left scattered throughout the study's results could be overlooked or attributed to individual perception rather than a patriarchal system. When connected together and viewed as interlocking acts, the potential for oppression can be considered (M. Frye, 1983).

Regardless of group, scholars discussed biases in curriculum, hiring, promotion, and committee representation. They believed most curricula are taught with a "male slant" with WS courses the first to be cut from schedules due to limited resources. Some scholars transforming their disciplinary courses, reported a backlash from students who "did not enroll in a WS course." This backlash jeopardized student evaluations, thought by one scholar to already favor masculine pedagogies. Moreover, some scholars perceived women engaged in counseling students, particularly women students, more frequently than their male counterparts. A woman of color also experienced increased responsibilities related to students of color and had been a target for racist student comments on her student evaluations.

Several scholars continue to be in the minority in their departments and one scholar reported being the first woman hired. As the only woman, her male colleagues assumed she would teach their "women's course." Several women mentioned making their feminist work visible during their interviews to avoid misunderstandings later and one woman felt she had to de-emphasize her WS specialty to get the job. She learned later that a male colleague hired after her, with the same amount of experience, was placed at a higher salary step than she. Another woman explained that even though a male candidate had made sexist remarks during his interview, he was hired following a verbal reprimand that such comments were not acceptable.

Some scholars in each group were convinced that WS scholarships were not devalued, but it was critical that they have a diversity of work in order to be tenured and promoted. One scholar worked extremely hard to avoid any perception that her feminist work lacked rigor. Additionally a system-wide study showed that while hiring, tenuring, and promoting

women has increased (not reached balance yet), women still tend to be located at the lower tiers. They are also more likely to be hired as adjunct faculty. One scholar perceived such women were viewed by some permanent male faculty members as "mommies" who came into teach and nurture students, while men did the "tough work" of research scholarship. Another woman felt criticized for requesting a teaching schedule that accommodated the needs of her children.

One woman mentioned that the union did not have enough female representation, although a Gender Issues Committee is addressing imbalances. Two women reported the mentorship of male colleagues assured their representation on important departmental and university-wide committees. Commissions on Women, Sexual Harassment Committees, and Women's Centers were referred to by the participants as demonstrating that the gendered environment is being addressed, however the memberships were predominately women. One scholar observed that women take on heavier service assignments than do men. Several IDS advised students groups who faced these same prejudices.

Conclusions

This study's findings suggested at least two identities for WS scholars at work in comprehensive universities. Both Interdisciplinary Scholars (IDS) (see Appendix B) and Disciplinary Scholars (DS) (see Appendix C) had prior WS background, held feminist values, and were committed to doing women and gender focused scholarships as part of their role at their institutions. Women from both groups had elected to affiliate with their local WS Program by teaching or developing a cross-listed course. Yet each group also had distinctive approaches to their scholarly lives and approached their feminist work with differing intensities.

IDS defined their personal values and scholarly identities in the tradition of Gumport's (1987) first generation of WS scholars, the "Pathfinders." Her "Pathfinders rejected identification with the traditional academic/career role" (p. 156). They had a strong sense of their own value, were highly politicized, and "consciously sought to apply their politics to their academic work" (p. 174). They were activists who experienced "feminist awakenings" while trying to integrate two equally vital concerns. They committed themselves to the transformation of their disciplines and their campuses by organizing and aligning themselves with communities of feminist women.

The IDS in this study revealed the same in-depth feminist commitment as Gumport's (1987) Pathfinders' generation. Most IDS defined themselves in ways that took into account multiple perspectives, and they declared their work was "100% connected" to who they were as individuals. For most, their alliance with the WS mission was unwaivering even in the face of limited resources, power, and time. They did not function totally without constraint, as the tenure and promotion processes were clearly forces that were difficult to ignore. However, they made their own opportunities, planned strategically, engaged in self-reflection, and stood up to forces they perceived threatened their personal value structures. Individual values were a strong guiding force in their scholarly decision-making.

The DS in this study were more like "Pathtakers," Gumport's (1987) second generation of WS scholars. Her Pathtakers also attempted to integrate their academic scholarship and their feminist politics, but political motives were not always a key factor in making scholarly choices. The personal values of DS revolved around the empowerment of women and commitment to social justice. Many of the women connected those values to their roles as teachers and researchers, rather than to themselves personally. Choosing to do feminist work

did not mean "sacrificing" disciplinary commitments, nor did it have to entail the "feminist engagement" of the Pathfinders. One Pathtaker in Gumport's (1987) study explained the difference, "Their [Pathfinders] scholarship is {sic} what they are living, which for me is not always the case. It's only one part of my life" (p. 328).

Both IDS and DS reported a low level of intellectual community in their disciplinary departments. Many IDS, however, found both intellectual community and friendship networks within the WS program or with feminist colleagues outside their departments. IDS also developed more campus-wide relationships than DS. Making time to connect with the WS community in particular however, was important to most IDS. DS stated they wanted more association with WS, but reported time constraints. This prioritization of their time commitments meant they were even more tightly aligned with their disciplinary departments.

Many DS qualified their relationship to WS, and that qualification was coupled with less involvement with WS locally, state-wide, and nationally, which meant less opportunity to exercise feminist values professionally and to be influenced by the feminist values of others. Thus, IDS found alternative sources for affirming their feminist choices. In contrast, DS, whose feminist values were already not as intense as the IDS, were in positions where disciplinary work and departmental needs were the highest priority. Many DS were open to establishing an intellectual community around their feminist work, and a few of them had WS friendship networks already.

DS interpreted limited resources as a reason to prioritize producing and disseminating disciplinary work through disciplinary outlets which they considered more prestigious and credible in the judgment of departmental colleagues who recommend them for tenure and promotion. Some DS chose work they believed their departments valued even if that meant

putting WS scholarship on hold. Other DS, due to lack of formal training, felt inadequately prepared as WS scholars and determined that WS-related professional forums were inappropriate places to present their work. Lack of resources meant little opportunity for them to learn more about the field. IDS responded to tenure and promotion pressures and resource limitations by seeking grant funds or personally funding their feminist conference attendance. In some cases they diversified their research, worked extra hard, or became more committed activists to ensure their feminist values and work would not be compromised by formal organizational values.

Most IDS and DS, because they acted to transform disciplinary courses, struggled with pressures to change the way they taught, what they taught, and how much work to expect from students. They were committed to developing critical thinkers and sometimes had to do that in the face of strong student resistance. Since WS, as a program, had no role in faculty members' performance evaluations, there may be no voice to help explain the reasons for mixed reviews from students. Departmental colleagues may not understand the context for negative student responses or may see WS as just another service option rather than evidence of integrating curriculum, increasing retention of faculty and students, disseminating and affirming social equity values, and fostering an equitable campus climate.

Like most WS units across the country, the four university sites in this study were assigned program, rather than departmental status, which placed these feminist projects at the margins of their institutions. Most participants were "assigned to disciplines" and the corresponding departments. For them, doing WS work required department approval. With the scarce resources available at their institutions, WS work "situated them in opposition" to their departments' priorities.

According to feminist theorists, it is the lack of power inevitable in most WS programmatic structures that create competition for limited resources, constrain feminist knowledge agendas, divide the WS community, and inhibit social change, thereby placing the field's interdisciplinary and transformational ideals in jeopardy (Allen, 1997; Beck in Guy-Sheftall & Health, 1995; Hartman & Messer-Davidow, 1991; Scully, 1996; Scully & Currier, 1997). The findings in this study confirm their theories, although some scholars persisted in their feminist work despite such barriers. The gendered environment findings also confirm Acker's (1992) rejection of assertions made by Pfeffer (1981) and Blau and Scott (1962) that the power structures embedded in institutional formal and informal structures are "neutral."

When considering the program versus department debate, WS scholars in this study discussed the advantages and disadvantages of their current administrative location. Central to their concerns was the fact that the WS curriculum rested on departmental willingness to schedule WS cross-listed courses or release faculty for WS directing. Many of them conceptualized the debate as a resource question. They deduced from resource allocations that their administrations did not value WS, and felt their departmental colleagues had the right to be frustrated by these scholars desire to teach or serve WS. Preferences for either program or department status for WS, fell along group lines. IDS favored the program status they now enjoyed because they valued the interdisciplinary experience that the program model provided. Additionally, perhaps because they did not let structure impede their feminist agendas as much as the DS, they saw potential for gaining more power from within a program model. For IDS, programs held the key to curricular transformation and WS community; departments meant isolation.

The DS who commented on the debate saw department status as the way to gain a stronger footing in the academy and increased resources. They also may have preferred such structure because they had determined power was in department status, and the only way to replicate that power was to reproduce themselves in its image. Additionally, departmental status for WS would enable DS to choose either feminist disciplinary work, and not be concerned that they are placing interdisciplinary mission of WS in jeopardy.

An analysis of feminist scholarships produced by IDS and DS showed how their scholarly choices had been shaped by individual, and informal and formal organizational values in combination with WS program status, and the gendered institutional environment. IDS had developed more WS courses and taught more interdisciplinary WS courses than DS. The fact that IDS tended to describe their pedagogies in terms of power, while DS referred to participatory learning as "active" or "cooperative" may be one more indicator that conformity to the "neutral" standard signifies movement away from feminist scholarships.

While both IDS and DS produced feminist discovery and integrative research that raised new questions, IDS pursued work that was likely to extend WS as an interdiscipline while DS extended and rethought disciplinary knowledge (Boyer, 1990). Almost all DS had presentation titles that previewed a women or gender focus, however, IDS published and presented their work at more women/gendered focused outlets than DS. A higher percentage of IDS than DS used titles on their published work that previewed a women or gender focus in their articles and books.

In the area of service all the scholars had made contributions to WS and women-focused activities, although more IDS were involved with advising minority or activist student organizations than DS. IDS also took on service outside of WS that called for

activism on their part and were addressing change on both the individual and institutional levels, while DS contributed their expertise as responsible citizens.

In discussing their scholarships, these women described work that asked "new" questions of their disciplines which transformed both what they taught and how they taught it. Most of them produced interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary projects that went beyond the confines of their disciplinary methods. IDS, in particular, resisted the constraints of structure and produced academic knowledge and approaches to curricula that did not necessarily fit the neat compartments assigned by the traditional organization of knowledge. Three IDS who had formal interdisciplinary training, had long rejected being "disciplined by disciplines" and offered new models for conceptualizing knowledge, without borders (Allen & Kitch, 1998).

Both groups of scholars were able to commission feminist knowledge through the courses they taught, the research they chose, and the dissemination outlets they selected. However, they also felt the pressure of limited resources, and tenure and promotion reward systems that constrained those choices. While acknowledging those constraints, several IDS scholars resisted co-optation or being driven away from their feminist agendas. Some DS did move away, although they said the move was only temporary--until they were tenured.

Implications

Klein and Newell (1997) consider interdisciplinary studies "essential, not peripheral in thinking about institutional structure, curriculum, and faculty development" (p. 396). Universities genuinely committed to developing interdisciplinary scholarships for social applications, disseminating feminist knowledge, and the fostering and sustaining of equitable campus environments, can utilize this study's findings about the benefits and consequences

of WS programmatic structures. Attention to the reform of academic departments and their cultures can make "essential, not peripheral" actions that convey such commitments and values. This study suggests that presidents, provosts, deans, and department chairs should accept responsibility for their role in limiting the power of WS faculty in hiring, tenure, promotion, and curricular decision-making. CBAs, scant resources, faculty resistance, or past practice must be rethought as impenetrable barriers.

To increase the production of feminist interdisciplinary and disciplinary work and to retain IDS, upper level administrators can make sure availability of professional development and research funds is highly visible and that work focused on women and gender is perceived as welcome. Then they can recognize faculty initiatives through formal reward structures. These actions are also pivotal to developing interdisciplinary thinking among scholars already in their institutions like the DS in this study. Moreover, WS scholars must not be put in the position of defending their work because it is not explicitly vocationally driven.

Finally, upper level administrators can improve gendered institutional environments by initiating and supporting research on the status of women in the tenure and promotion processes with a particular look at WS faculty. They can monitor hiring packages to insure equal talents are rewarded with equal pay regardless of gender. Presidents, Provosts, and Deans can acknowledge those social equity committees as central, not marginal, to the re-visioning of their universities and essential, not peripheral to communicating values of justice and democracy.

IDS and DS share similar values, but varying degrees of identification with and involvement in WS. Understanding how faculty backgrounds shape the expectations they hold for the WS community can help directors attract and retain faculty committed to WS.

Scholars in this study sought affirmation of their values and support of their projects. They wanted to share ideas and to feel part of an intellectual and social community committed to social change. Thus, WS directors need to consider what energizes and rewards IDS scholars who are actively engaged with WS, DS who find feminist disciplinary work fulfilling, and DS who wish to be more involved in feminist interdisciplinary initiatives. WS directors need to work with department chairs and upper level administrators to formally acknowledge those scholars who teach WS courses.

WS directors can establish many ways for faculty to contribute to the program, including orientation programs for new faculty members, coordinating colloquia, promoting WS events, recruiting and advising WS minors, mentoring WS students for leadership opportunities, or serving on WS advisory committees. WS faculty need to be supported for varying levels of service with an understanding for their perceptions of the context within which they are making scholarly choices. Directors also can coordinate inclusive planning bodies that guarantee a diversity of co-curricular programs to meet the intellectual needs of WS faculty members and provide opportunities for collaborative work toward a common goal.

WS directors can encourage WS faculty to claim WS as part of their scholarly identities and acknowledge the work they do with WS. They can decrease any risks by instructing these scholars, their departmental committees, deans, and provosts about how to articulate the importance of WS contributions, given the limitations resulting from structural arrangements. Directors can make sure, as WS faculty prepare for tenure and promotion, that teaching observations of their WS classrooms are included in their applications. In the process, WS directors can educate peer evaluators about student resistance to feminist

knowledge and pedagogies. An excellent resource is the 1999 National Women's Studies Association publication "Defining WS Scholarship." WS directors should inform WS faculty about any available funding for interdisciplinary feminist professional development opportunities reward attendance and presentations of work at women- and gender-focused conferences. If WS work is made visible throughout the formal institutional reward systems, those processes that negotiate power and transmit values, will communicate new messages about the value and power of WS.

Finally, WS directors can cultivate relationships with disciplinary departments They can frame WS programs as resources for departments and support this role by offering related co-curricular programs, purchasing related materials to share, publicizing cross-listed courses, and assisting in the recruitment of feminist scholars (Warhol, 1999). Several IDS and DS scholars in this study sought out the WS program during their interviews and accepted their positions anticipating a positive relationship with WS when they arrived on campus.

WS is losing valuable feminist scholarships as too many WS faculty contort themselves to fit into or struggle against their perceptions of what institutions, departments, and students value. For example, titling work in ways that do not reveal the content focus on women or the application of feminist and gender analyses may only reinforce fears of rejection by disciplinary journals and conference committees, or concerns about the perceived importance or rigor of their work among departmental colleagues. WS work may then go unclaimed and uncounted.

Until the structural disadvantages for WS Programs in comprehensive universities change, it is incumbent upon WS faculty teaching cross-listed courses to identify themselves

as affiliated with their WS programs at every opportunity. They also need to claim this affiliation and any other related work they do on their vitae. WS faculty can acknowledge each others' contributions to the curricular stability of their WS Program, transformation of their disciplinary departmental curricula, and the retention of women students. They can request that departmental committees endorse this work as well.

The findings in this study suggest that further research should be conducted across other comprehensive institutions with WS programs to determine how pervasive the structural limitations are to their power. The qualitative methodology used in this study was helpful in articulating some of the issues facing WS programs and offering insights into those issues. However, since these findings are not generalizable to other populations, conducting a follow-up study using quantitative methodology based on these findings would provide empirical data that could be tested for statistical significance.

This study focused exclusively on the perspectives of WS faculty. Research designed to include the perceptions of university presidents, provosts, deans charged with supervising WS directors, and chairpersons with faculty released to direct WS or teach cross-listed WS courses on these same issues would give a fuller picture.

The sites in this study were part of a CBA and therefore the experiences of these scholars may not be typical of WS faculty in other types of comprehensive institutions. This aspect of the participants' experiences was rarely mentioned and the influence of the CBA on their scholarly choices was not pursued in any direct manner. Further research to determine the specific challenges faced by WS faculty in institutions with CBAs may suggest other barriers to or inspirations for feminist interdisciplinary scholarships. For example, does the lack of merit pay make faculty less inclined to placate department colleagues? What is the

impact of CBAs on faculty-administration relationships or perceptions of those relationships? How do CBAs inspire or impede institutional reform?

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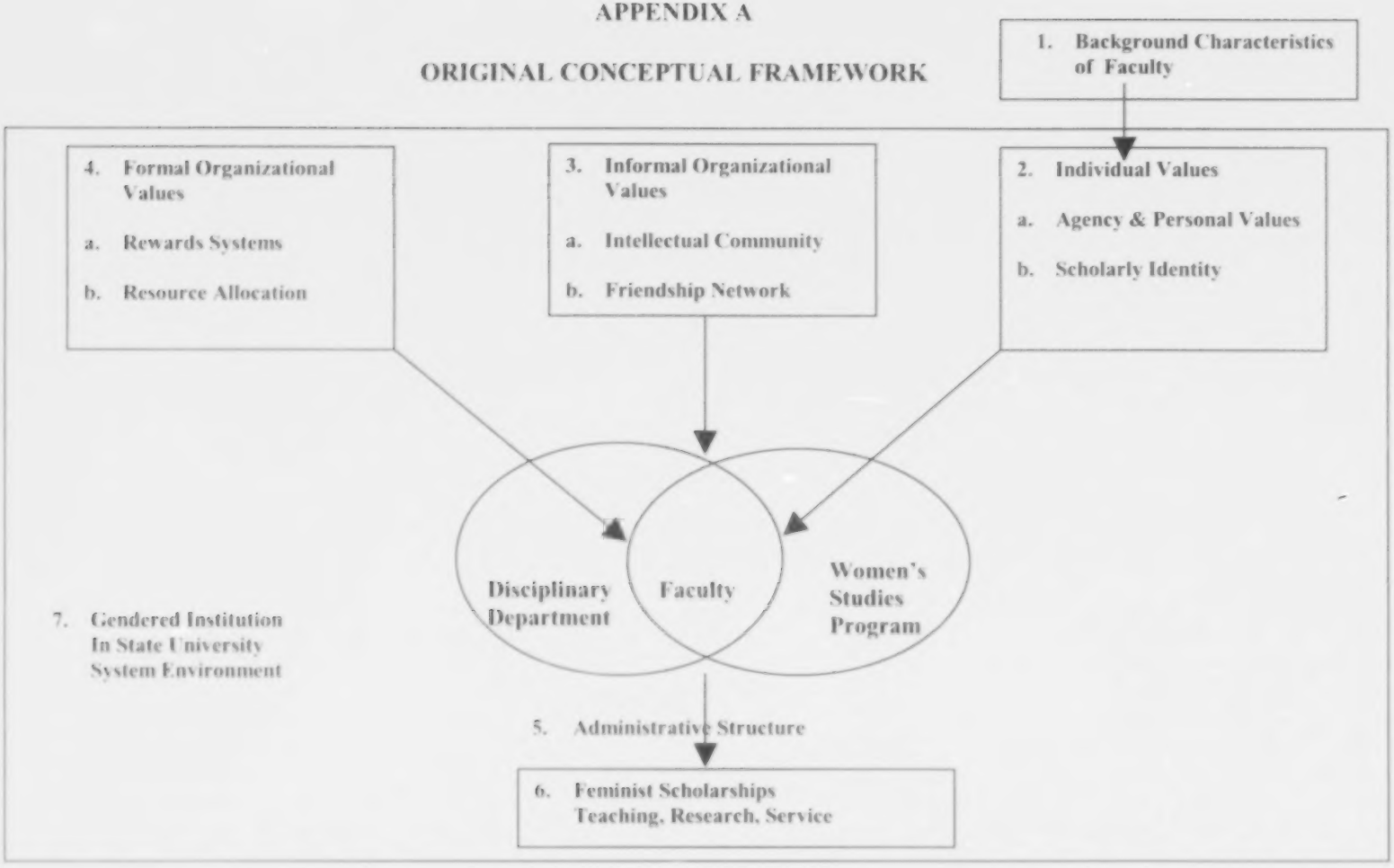
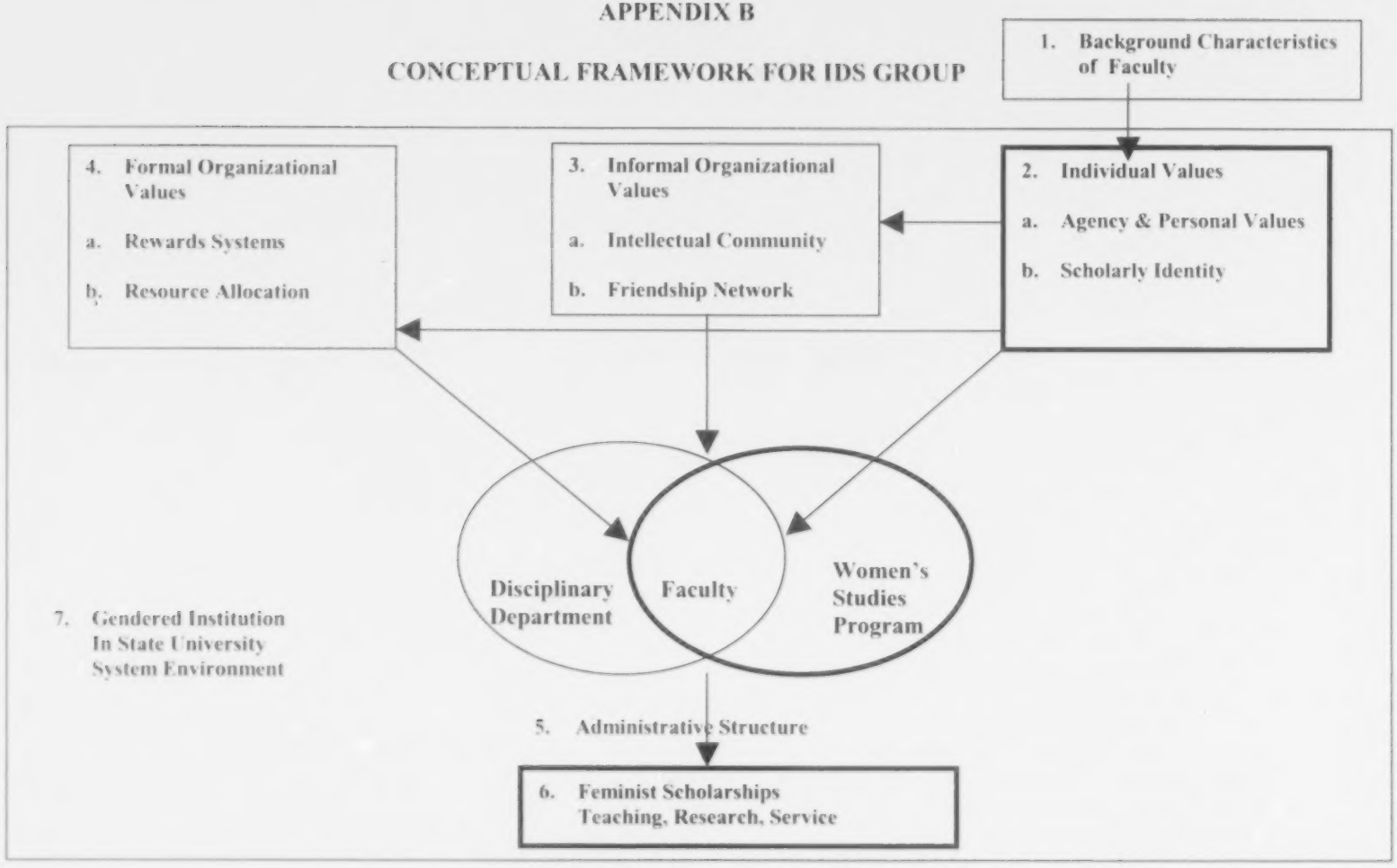
APPENDIX A

ORIGINAL CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK



APPENDIX B

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR IDS GROUP



APPENDIX C

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR DS GROUP

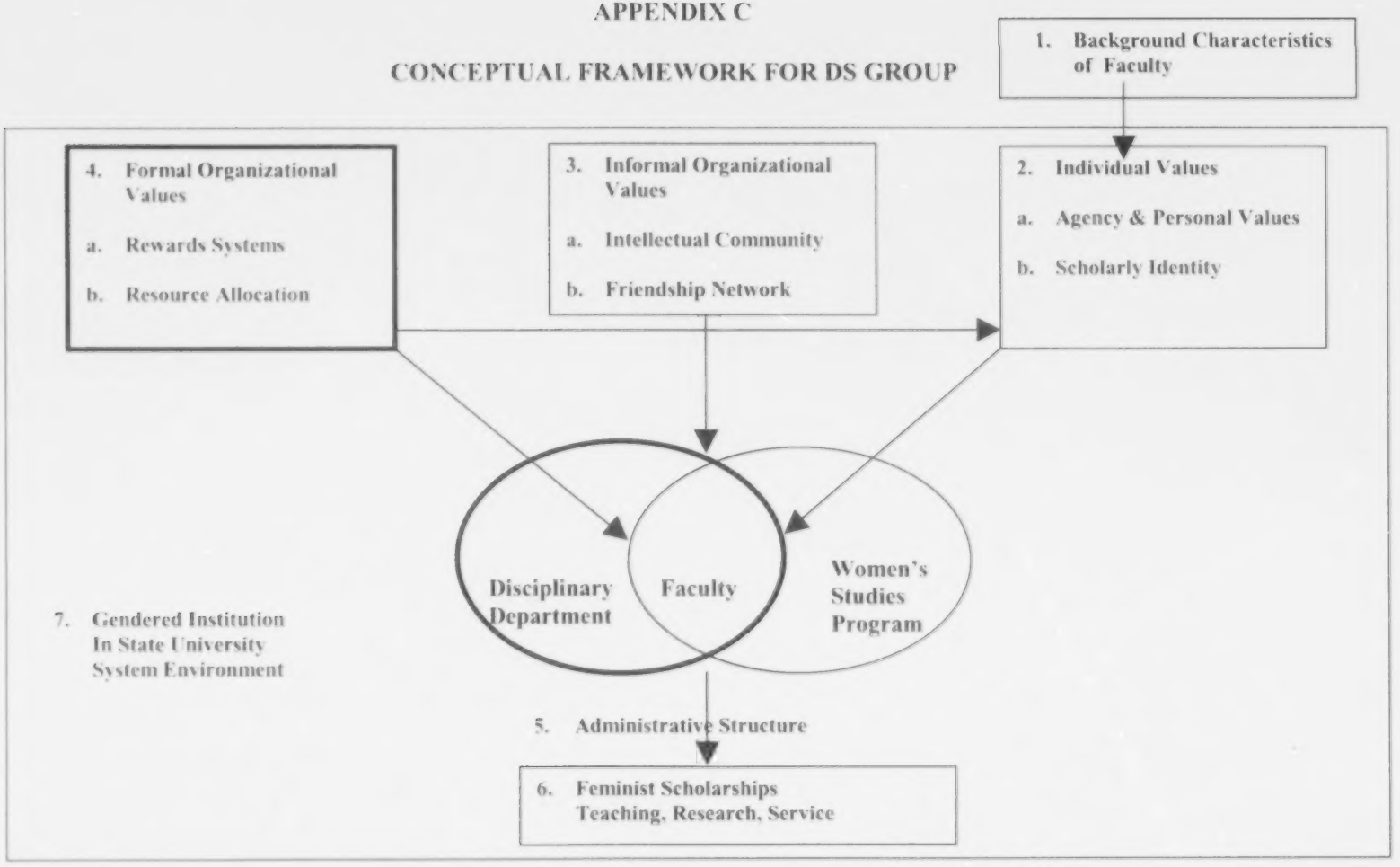


TABLE 1
BACKGROUND, INDIVIDUAL (IV), FORMAL (FOV) AND INFORMAL (IOV) ORGANIZATIONAL VALUES, AND ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE

	IDS	DS
WS Background	(n = 9)	(n = 11)
WS coursework	5 56%	3 27%
WS field specialty	4 44%	2 18%
WS teaching	2 22%	7 64%
Scholarly Identity (IV)		
Feminist interdisciplinary	5 56%	0 0%
Feminist disciplinary; and/or woman gender focus	1 11%	10 80%
Activist; champion of underdog	2 22%	0 0%
Personal Values (IV)		
Commitment to social justice	6 67%	6 55%
Integrated values into work	7 78%	3 27%
Intellectual Community (IOV)		
WS colleagues	7 78%	2 18%
Campus (not department)	5 56%	1 9%
Department	3 33%	5 45%
Friendship Network (IOV)		
WS colleagues	7 78%	5 45%
Campus (not department)	1 11%	2 18%
Department	2 22%	5 36%
Tenure Promotion for Assistants (FOV)	(n = 4)	(n = 8)
Feel pressure to prioritize department needs	0 0%	5 63%
Feel pressured by student evaluations	3 75%	3 38%
Promotion process unpredictable, unclear	1 25%	5 63%
Promotion standards increasing	3 75%	2 25%
Tenure Promotion for Associates (FOV)	(n = 5)	(n = 3)
No bias towards WS	4 80%	2 67%
Some conformity due to tenure process	3 60%	2 67%
Resource Allocation (FOV)	(n = 9)	(n = 11)
Local and state WS development funds available	6 67%	4 36%
No local WS development funds	1 11%	5 45%
Funds affect conference choice	1 11%	5 45%
Uses personal funds for WS conferences	4 44%	0 0%
Administrative Structure		
WS Involvement via interview, referral, self-initiated	7 78%	6 54%
WS involvement via teaching	2 22%	5 45%
Time constraints in WS	1 11%	5 45%
Preference for program structure	4 44%	0 0%
Preference for department structure	1 11%	3 27%
Judged administrative support low due to program resource allocation	6 67%	8 72%
Tension over WS teaching assignments	6 67%	4 36%

TABLE 2
FEMINIST SCHOLARSHIPS

	IDS (n = 11)		DS (n = 9)	
Teaching Scholarship				
Teach interdisciplinary WS courses	3	33%	1	9%
Developed WS course	7	78%	4	36%
Department not offering WS at this time	0	0%	2	18%
Feminist Pedadgogy				
Student-centered, faculty de-centered, participatory, democratic, collaborative	7	78%	1	9%
Cooperative learning, active learning, discovery, interactive, holistic	1	11%	7	63%
Negotiate power relationships between professors and students	5	56%	3	27%
Importance of intellectual community	5	67%	0	0%
Research Scholarships				
Presented at conference with woman/gender focus	6	67%	4	36%
Titled presentation with woman/gender focus	8	89%	10	91%
Published in woman/gender focused journal	4	44%	1	9%
Titled publications with woman/gender forms	6	67%	3	27%
Book titled with woman/gender focus	4	44%	4	36%
Service Scholarships				
Service to WS	9	100%	7	63%
Wanted to do more for WS	1	11%	7	63%
Activist service	6	67%	3	27%